MULTICULTURALISM AND EXPECTATIONS OF INCLUSION AMONG EUROPEAN MUSLIMS

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ABSTRACT

Hajar Yazdiha: Multiculturalism and Expectations of Inclusion Among European Muslims
(Under the direction of Charles Kurzman)

Why do Muslim minorities perceive more societal hostility in European countries with greater multicultural commitments? This paper examines a unique cross-national survey of Muslims in four Western European countries and finds that personal experiences of discrimination and perceptions of societal hostility are more widespread in Britain and France than in Germany and Spain, notwithstanding more multicultural policies and public attitudes in Britain and France. The paper bridges several literatures on immigration and discrimination to account for this puzzle, including social identity theory, which focuses on individual experiences of discrimination; migration studies that focus on the uneven integration of immigrants; and citizenship studies that focus on regimes of incorporation. The paper combines all of these perspectives in proposing that multiculturalism generates expectations of inclusion that make immigrant communities more likely to identify and label discrimination and hostility.

To my parents, you inspire this journey.

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MULTICULTURALISM AND EXPECTATIONS OF INCLUSION AMONG EUROPEAN MUSLIMS

Introduction

More than a decade after September 11, 2001, negative attitudes, discrimination, and violence toward Muslims in Western countries persist , and Muslims are often stigmatized as subjects of suspicion and targets of nativist political movements (Cesari 2013; Givens and Maxwell 2012; Ansari and Hafez 2012; Gest 2010; Meer and Modood 2010; Bleich 2010; Fekete 2009). These trends are not uniform across all Western countries – an emerging interdisciplinary literature has noted variation in national policies on the incorporation of Muslim minorities (Joppke and Torpey 2013; Kibria 2013; Connor 2010; Modood 2010; Sinno 2009; Nielsen 2004). Countries such as Canada, Great Britain, France, and the United States have been identified as more committed to multicultural approaches, as compared with Germany, Italy, Spain, and other countries (Vertovec and Wessendorf 2010; Weldon 2006; Modood 2006; Geddes et al. 2005; Koopmans and Statham 2000; Favell 1998).

Yet multiculturalism does not necessarily generate feelings of inclusion – in fact, it appears that Muslims may experience more discrimination and societal hostility in more multicultural societies than in less multicultural societies. This is the puzzle presented by data from a unique cross-national survey of Muslims in four Western European countries – France, Germany, Great Britain, and Spain. Muslims in Britain and France were more likely to say they have personally experienced discrimination than Muslims in Germany and Spain, and the longer

they resided in Britain and France, the more likely they were to perceive societal hostility toward Muslims.

Why is multiculturalism associated with lower perceptions of inclusion among Muslims in these four countries? This study examines and integrates explanations from three social-scientific literatures: a social-psychological approach that focuses on individual-level interactions and identity-formation; a social-structural approach that focuses on the structural position and incorporation of migrant and minority communities; and a national-polity approach that focuses on citizenship regimes and cultural contexts of reception.

I bridge these approaches to introduce the concept of "expectations of inclusion." These expectations grow out of multicultural citizenship regimes that encourage immigrants and minorities to consider themselves full members of the polity. These expectations take root most strongly among immigrants who are most structurally integrated into the host society. Expectations of equal treatment and inclusion are generated through extended time spent embedded in the national culture, interacting with both individuals and institutions, developing a nuanced understanding of the boundaries between groups, and embracing multicultural ideals of minority inclusion. Cultural awareness develops through this process of integration, generating greater expectations of societal inclusion in countries that are more multicultural. Greater expectations of inclusion create a cognitive context in which perceptions of societal exclusion are more likely. These findings have important implications for literatures on discrimination, immigration, and multiculturalism, elaborated in the conclusion.

Three Approaches to Perceptions of Exclusion

Social Identity Theory. Social psychologists theorize perceptions of exclusion as individual-level cognitive products of identity formation produced through interaction and socialization. Social identity is shaped continuously through a system of social categorizations creating and defining an individual's place in society through intergroup relations, interactions, and social change (Tajfel 2010; Hogg and Abrams 1988; Tajfel 1978). Through a dynamic process of identity formation, external group identification continuously interacts with internal self-identification, shaping a social identity that determines not only how an individual views him/herself, but also how the individual perceives others to view him/her (Jenkins 2008). Perceptions of exclusion arise when individuals with strong affiliations to a minority identity personally experience discrimination, making the boundaries of group identity salient (Hall and Carter 2006; Branscombe, Schmitt, and Harvey 1999; King 2003; Operario and Fiske 2001; Sellers and Nicole 2003; McCoy and Major 2003). According to this theory, Muslim minorities perceive themselves to be excluded from their host societies through individual interactions, especially personal experiences with discrimination. Much of this literature focuses on the development of racial identity among African-Americans, but the theory has been applied to the development of ethnic identity among immigrant groups as well.

For the children of immigrants, experiences of discrimination influence the development of ethnic identity as they negotiate their identity at home with that of the national majority next to whom they grow up. Portes and Rumbaut describe this process as "reactive ethnicity formation," a mode of identity formation in hostile contexts characterized by the "rise and reaffirmation of ethnic solidarity and self-consciousness" (Portes and Rumbaut 2001). This theory has been applied to North American Muslims as well, identifying reactive religious

identity formation as a reaction to hostility after 9/11 (Nagra 2011; Peek 2005). Findings have been mixed across countries, showing stronger reactive identities among second generation Muslims in the U.S. and Canada compared to Germany (Kibria 2008; Diehl and Schnell 2006), suggesting that national context matters for the ways in which experiences of discrimination influence identity formation.

Migrant Incorporation. By contrast with the social-psychological focus on individual interactions, the extensive literature on migration adds a social-structural dimension to the study of migrants' perception of societal inclusion and exclusion. This literature examines factors such as labor markets, settlement patterns, and contexts of reception that shape the experience of immigrant incorporation. While there is much contestation over the shape of the multi-generational trajectory of integration (Alba and Nee 2005; Alba 2005; Portes, Fernández-Kelly, and Haller 2005; Portes and Zhou 1993; Waldinger and Feliciano 2004; Kasinitz, Mollenkopf, and Waters 2002; Levitt and Waters 2006), migration scholars generally agree that greater incorporation into the host society – such as success in the labor market and birth or long-term residence in the host country – is associated with a greater sense of inclusion. This literature has developed largely around the experience of migrant communities in the United States. If we extend its approach to Muslim communities in Europe, we would expect community members with high incomes and longer-term residency to perceive a greater sense of inclusion in the host society than members who are poorer and more recently arrived (see also Barkdull et al. 2011).

Citizenship Regimes. A separate literature on citizenship regimes explores the influence of national-level policies and cultural contexts on minority and immigrant experiences. Much of this literature examines multicultural policies and discourses, which extend recognition and rights to ethnic, racial, religious, or other minority groups (Taylor and Gutmann 1994; Banting

and Kymlicka 2006; Glazer 1998). Countries have historically varied in the degree to which they are open to multicultural inclusion, and this variation has been measured through a variety of concepts, including citizenship regimes, philosophies of integration, and multicultural policies (Favell 1998; Carrera 2006; Geddes et al. 2005; Zølner 2000).

Citizenship regimes structure individual and community status, rights, and identity (Joppke 2010; Koopmans and Statham 2000; Cohen 1999). Countries may grant citizenship status and support anti-discrimination legislation, but these institutional shifts may not be enacted through public attitudes and cultural practices (Zapata-Barrero 2003; Miles 1995; Koopmans and Statham 2000; Medrano 2013; Janmaat 2006; Muro and Quiroga 2005; Brubaker 1999). A number of these studies apply this approach to the case of Muslim minorities in Europe, hypothesizing that Muslims experience a greater sense of inclusion in countries with more multicultural citizenship regimes than in countries with less multicultural regimes.

Expectations of Inclusion

With these approaches, perceptions of exclusion arise under three conditions: (1) if an individual personally experiences discrimination, (2) if an individual is part of a migrant group that experiences an exclusionary societal context of reception, or (3) if an individual lives in a country with a historically exclusionary philosophy of integration and citizenship. However, the findings provide evidence to the contrary: instead, greater integration of Muslims into the host society, at both the individual and country level, appears to be associated more widespread experiences of discrimination and perceptions of exclusion, not less. Interestingly, this puzzle brings us back to a lost thread in the migration literature: a theory of cultural consciousness.

In 1980, Portes, Parker, and Cobas used surveys of Mexican and Cuban migrants to explore the relationship between migrants' perceptions of discrimination and cultural consciousness at two points in time: arrival and three years after arrival (Portes, Parker, and Cobas 1980). Mexican and Cuban migrants were selected as they shared "linguistic and cultural similarities." The authors argue that perceptions of discrimination show both how migrant groups perceive host society and how they perceive the attitudes of dominant groups toward them, advancing understandings of interethnic relationships and adaptation patterns. Findings challenged the assimilation hypothesis that greater cultural and structural incorporation mitigates perceptions of discrimination as migrants find themselves integrated into society. Instead, Portes and colleagues found support for a cultural consciousness hypothesis. As migrants gain greater consciousness of the host country's culture, they develop nuanced understandings of their group position vis-a-vis the native majority group. With greater familiarity with the culture and the language, migrants become more attuned to cultural norms and expectations and develop a more critical evaluation of society. Consequently, they are more likely to perceive discrimination against their group, based on their enriched understanding of cultural boundaries and porousness between groups.

The intellectual legacy exploring the relationship between national culture and individual perceptions of exclusion can be traced even further back to the foundational work of Du Bois. Du Bois describes the sense of "two-ness" experienced by African Americans in the U.S. through the profound contradictions of a "double consciousness" (Du Bois 1903) where an individuals views the selves and their possibilities and limitations through the culture in which they are embedded. He writes,

> "…the Negro is a sort of seventh son, born with a veil, and gifted with second-sight in this American world,—a world which yields him no true self-consciousness, but only lets

> him see himself through the revelation of the other world. It is a peculiar sensation, this double-consciousness, this sense of always looking at one's self through the eyes of others, of measuring one's soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity." (Du Bois 1903)

Du Bois describes how collective perceptions of an open, inclusive society without bounds juxtapose with irreconcilable individual experiences of rigid and unsurpassable boundaries between groups. In Du Bois' account, the Negro does not merely understand his position, opportunities, and constraints through individual interactions, but rather through the broader cultural context of an "American world." Perceptions of exclusion are not purely a product of the actions of prejudiced individuals, but are rather a representation of an individual's understandings and expectations of the nation. While Portes and the seminal contributions of Du Bois explore perceptions of exclusion within a single nation, I show that a national comparison can provide further insight into the ways in which national contexts produce individual perceptions. I use the test case of Muslims across four Western European countries to shed new light on perceptions of exclusion, arising against contexts that claim values of inclusion.

I propose a concept that bridges approaches: expectations of inclusion. Expectations of inclusion begin with multicultural regimes, which produce cultural conceptualizations of pluralism, diversity, and tolerance. These conceptualizations generate corresponding expectations among migrants and minorities. Those most attuned to multicultural conceptualizations are the most incorporated migrants and thus the most likely to expect societal inclusion. Migrants come to compare their group identity against these expectations, generating perceptions of exclusion when there is a perceived disjuncture between group treatment and multicultural contexts.

As social identity theory shows, individual interactions matter for the ways in which individuals come to understand their group position in relation to the majority. An experience of

discrimination can make the boundaries between minority groups and majority groups visible and salient. Yet these interactions are structured through national migrant incorporation regimes, including the extent to which migrants are incorporated in the labor market and broader societal attitudes toward the migrant group. Both individual interactions and opportunities for incorporation are contextualized through national histories, citizenship regimes, policies, the foundations of national culture that sanctions the degree to which migrants are included as members of the national polity or segregated as foreigners. Through the interaction of migration histories and contexts of receptions, classification systems for migrants and minorities, and national policies, varied national contexts engender different expectations of inclusion. In countries that are highly multicultural, incorporated individuals will be more likely to expect inclusion. In countries with minimal multiculturalism, histories of anti-immigrant sentiment and stringent citizenship policies will constrain out-groups' expectations of inclusion such that exclusion may not be interpreted as hostility. These relative expectations create a cognitive context in which perceptions of exclusion are enabled and more likely to form.

Methodology

To compare perceptions of exclusion, I use a dataset of minority communities across multiple national contexts. The Pew 2006 Global Attitudes Survey is a rare national experiment with a single group across different contexts. Pew is the only publicly available study to obtain a large representative sample of Muslim respondents in Europe. To ensure Pew survey results were robust, I compared individual frequencies of experienced and perceived discrimination to aggregated levels of discrimination reported in the 2008 European Union Minorities and Discrimination Survey Report (EU-MIDIS); 2006-7 The Integration of the European Second

Generation Report (TIES); 2008 Federal Office for Migration and Refugees Report: 'Muslim Life in Germany' (FOMR); 2008 Religion Monitor: Muslim Religiousness in Germany Report (RM); 2009 Open Study Institute: 'Muslims in Europe' (OSI); Policy Exchange Report: 'Living apart together' (PE).

The Pew 2006 Global Attitudes Survey measures European attitudes toward foreign policy, globalization, terrorism, and democratization. Principally funded by The Pew Charitable Trusts, the Global Attitudes Survey also includes an oversample of European Muslims in Great Britain, France, Germany, and Spain from surveys conducted in partnership with the Pew Forum on Religion & Public Life. Respondents were located through a national probability sample, and surveys were conducted through telephone and in-person interviews under the direction of Princeton Survey Research Associates International between April 4 and May 4, 2006. Representation for Great Britain, France, and Germany was telephone households and representation for Spain was the adult population. The resulting analytic sample is 1618 respondents, composed of 411 from Great Britain (25.4 percent), 399 from France (24.7 percent), 411 from Germany (25.4 percent), and 397 from Spain (24.5 percent).

To compare perceptions of exclusion across national contexts, I first test the individual-level predictor, personal experience of discrimination, which is distinct from perceptions of societal discrimination against the group. Though they are often correlated, an individual need not have an experience with discrimination in order to perceive discrimination against their group. I test the correlation between discrimination *experienced* by individual respondents with perceptions of societal hostility against Muslims as a group to illustrate this distinction. Second, I introduce group-level determinants of the integration process with gender, income, and nativity.

By manipulating nativity, which reflects a significant level of integration, I isolate the effect of cultural awareness net of other identified predictors.

The dependent variable, perceptions of societal exclusion, is measured through the question, "How many Europeans do you think are hostile toward Muslims?" recoded into a dichotomous variable with 1=Most/Many and 0=Some/Few. Covariates include the individual-level predictor of individual experience of discrimination, measured through the question, "In the last two years, have you personally had a bad experience due to your race, ethnicity, or religion, or hasn't this happened to you?" (recoded 1=Yes 0=No). Group-level measures of the integrative process are measured with gender, income, and nativity. Gender is a dummy variable with "Male" as the reference group, and income is standardized across countries by recoding the income variable into a dummy variable with "Below median national income" as the reference group to which "Above median national income" is compared. Median incomes for 2006 were drawn from the United Nations' World Population Prospects Report. Additional theoretical determinants were not found to have any effect on perceptions of societal exclusion.

In alternative analyses, additional covariates were included in analysis to explore possible confounding variables, such as the year of immigrant arrival or that of the relationship between religious identity and perceptions of discrimination. The year immigrants came to the country was included and was not found to have a significant effect on perceptions of discrimination. The importance of religion was included to account for the centrality of Muslim religiosity as a proxy for group affiliation and was not found to have an effect. Furthermore, a series of interactions were tested, including nativity and mosque attendance to consider the magnification of perceptions through reactive formations of religious identity, nativity with importance of religion, and nativity with attitudes toward assimilation. Interactions were not found to have

robust effects on perceptions of discrimination. Education-level was only asked of respondents in France, so education-level is not included in this analysis. Using Logit models, I conduct a side-by-side cross-national comparison of Muslims' perceptions of exclusion. All models were tested and found to be free of multicollinearity and heteroskedasticity with the variance inflation factor (VIF) and Breusch-Pagan/Cook-Weisberg test for heteroskedasticity.

To measure levels of multiculturalism across countries, I use the Migrant Integration Policy Index of Multiculturalism (MIPEX, 2007) and European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia's (RAXEN) index of official discrimination data mechanisms. MIPEX uses 148 policy indicators to create an index of migrants' opportunities for societal inclusion across countries, and indicators pertain to questions relating to a particular policy component of each policy area. There are three options for each answer. A maximum of three points are rewarded when policies met the highest standards for equal treatment. Indicator scores are averaged to provide one of four dimension scores, which examine the same aspect of policy. These scores are then averaged to give the policy area score for each of the policy areas per country. Averaged once more, this provides the overall scores for each country. For rankings, the initial 1, 2, 3 scale is converted into a 0, 50, 100 scale for dimensions and policy areas, with 100% as the top score. I also include the RAXEN index of official discrimination data mechanisms, which measures the extent to which anti-discrimination is institutionalized by measuring, recording, and analyzing data on racially, ethnically, and religiously motivated crime and violence (RAXEN 2004).

Results

Table 1 shows frequency distributions for predictors of Muslims' perceptions of hostility in Great Britain, France, Germany, and Spain.

Table 1. Frequencies for Muslims in Western Europe (Pew 2006)

	Great Britain	France	Germany	Spain
PERCEPTION of HOSTILITY	45.6%	39.3%	53.2%	32.4%
PERSONALLY EXPERIENCED DISCRIMINATION	29.6%	38.6%	21.8%	24.2%
NATIVITY				
Native-born	46.2%	49.9%	24.8%	9.6%
Immigrant	53.8%	50.1%	75.2%	90.4%
IMMIG. TIME				
Past 15 years	41.1%	39.5%	31.1%	85.4%
15+ years	58.9%	60.5%	68.9%	14.6%
INCOME				
Below National Median	81.5%	80.0%	89.9%	97.3%
Above National Median	18.5%	20.1%	10.1%	2.7%

German and Spanish Muslims report the least frequent experiences of discrimination while French and British Muslims report the most frequent experiences of discrimination. However, the perception of societal exclusion is highest among British and German Muslims and lowest among Spanish and French Muslims. However, perceptions of societal exclusion are highest in Germany, followed by Great Britain, France, then Spain. These results complicate the line of causality between experiencing discrimination to perceiving exclusion. In Great Britain and France, respondents are nearly evenly split between immigrants and the native-born, while in Germany, immigrants compose roughly three quarters of the sample. As a new country of migration, Spain exhibits the least variation in nativity with 90 percent of respondents composed of immigrants. In age and immigrant composition, Great Britain, France, and Germany have native-born populations that are younger than the migrant populations, representative of an increasing flow of migration over the past four decades and a second generation that is coming of

age. In Great Britain, France, and Germany, a majority (between 60-70 percent) of immigrants arrived over fifteen years ago, while Spain is largely a country of new Muslim immigrants with 85 percent arriving in the past fifteen years. These differences illustrate each country's migration wave, so while these countries differ in the ethnic composition of their Muslim migrants, the similarity in migration histories is notable across all countries except Spain. The similarity in time of migrant arrival allows for a more nuanced analysis of variation in perceptions of exclusion, as levels of acculturation among migrants are generally comparable across countries. The content of the national culture into which migrants are acculturated becomes central to understanding divergent perceptions of society.

Great Britain, France, Germany, and Spain represent multiple locations of migrant inclusion These four countries represent different ideologies of citizenship, philosophies of integration, and cultural obligations tied to citizenship, shown in Table 2 (Koopmans and Statham 2000).

Table 2. Levels of Migrant Inclusion Based on Citizenship Regimes

	Philosophy of Integration	**Basis of Citizenship**	**Multiculturalism**	**Regime Type**
Great Britain	Multiculturalism	Civic	High	Individualistic-civic
France	Républicanisme	Civic	Medium	Collectivistic-civic
Germany	Ausländerpolitik	Ethnic	Low	Collectivistic-ethnic
Spain	[Under development]	Civic	Low	Individualistic-civic

Representing the most inclusive country, Great Britain's philosophy of integration is one of multiculturalism, involving a community-based integration model that recognizes ethnic and religious collectivities, matching its inclusionary "individualistic-civic" ideal-type. France emphasizes secularism or *laïcité* and thus integration that privatizes ethnic and religious distinction. French policy is undergirded by a philosophy of *Républicanisme* and *jus soli*, the "collectivistic civic" ideal-type in which migrants are included under the assumption of assimilation. Like Great Britain, France grants second generation immigrants citizenship. However, unlike Great Britain, French Muslims' identity is not publicly acknowledged but is rather relegated to the private sphere to remove cultural and ethnic distinctions between citizens for a unitary political culture. In Germany, multiculturalism is low and cultural segregationism is the norm, matching a historical philosophy of *Ausländerpolitik*, or the exclusionary drawing of boundaries through "ethnic segregationism" defined by the political exclusion of migrants. Until 2000, German citizenship was a matter of blood and limited to those who shared the ethno-cultural background of the majority, a citizenship regime of *jus sanguinis*. German immigration policy was revised in 2000 to allow second-generation immigrants to obtain citizenship, moving its situation closer to a "collectivistic civic" categorization on the Koopmans & Statham scale (2000), however migrants remained culturally separate from the political body. While migrant inclusion is expected and encouraged in Great Britain and France, migrant separation from the majority is expected in Germany. Finally, Spain exhibits low multiculturalism, as a new country of immigration with an integrative philosophy that is still unfolding.

Furthermore, the cultural construction of migrants and minorities matters for the way migrants and minorities view their societal inclusion. For example, migrants in Great Britain are labeled "racial minorities," while in France they are "immigrés" (immigrants), and in Germany

they are "Ausländer" (foreigners). I build upon Koopman and Statham's fruitful developments using a scale of multiculturalism in order to consider not only socio-historical citizenship regimes, but also contemporaneous policies for cultural inclusion and cultural attitudes. Societal understandings of citizenship and who does and does not belong, as well as understandings of multiculturalism and who should and should not belong, differ in degrees across countries.

This scale, seen in Table 3, uses three indices of multiculturalism to distinguish a nation's position on a continuum from inclusionary contexts of high multiculturalism to exclusionary contexts of low multiculturalism (Zolberg and Woon 1999; Bovenkerk, Miles, and Verbunt 1990). The four countries isolated for analysis are highlighted.

Table 3. Degrees of Multiculturalism Measured on Three Scales

Anti-Discrimination Policy (MIPEX)			**Access to Nationality Policy (MIPEX)**			**Ranking of official discrimination data mechanisms (EUMC)**		
1	Sweden	94	1	Denmark	Excellent	1	Denmark	Excellent
2	Portugal	87	1	Finland	Excellent	1	Finland	Excellent
3	Hungary	85	1	France	Excellent	1	France	Excellent
5	France	81	1	Ireland	Excellent	1	Ireland	Excellent
5	Netherlands	81	1	Sweden	Excellent	1	UK	Excellent
5	UK	81	1	UK	Excellent	1	Sweden	Excellent
8	Slovenia	79	2	Austria	Good	2	Austria	Good
9	Belgium	75	2	Germany	Good	2	Germany	Good
9	Finland	75	3	Belgium	Fair	3	Belgium	Fair
11	Italy	69	3	Netherlands	Fair	3	Netherlands	Fair
12	Cyprus	60	4	Greece	Poor/Inadequate	4	Greece	Poor
13	Greece	58	4	Italy	Poor/Inadequate	4	Italy	Poor
13	Ireland	58	4	Luxembourg	Poor/Inadequate	4	Luxembourg	Poor
15	Luxembourg	56	4	Portugal	Poor/Inadequate	4	Portugal	Poor
16	Norway	54	4	Spain	Poor/Inadequate	4	Spain	Poor
17	Germany	50						
17	Spain	50						
19	Lithuania	48						
20	Poland	46						

In Column 1 and 2, MIPEX provides two indices of inclusion: anti-discrimination policy and nationality policy. Anti-discrimination policy measures the extent to which multicultural inclusion is protected, constraining discrimination against minorities. On this scale, Great Britain and France are tied for high inclusion (81) while Germany and Spain are tied for low inclusion (50). Access to nationality measures the extent to which migrants are granted legal access to national identity as a mode of inclusion. Great Britain scores most inclusive (62) followed by France (54), Spain (41), and with the lowest measure of inclusion, Germany (38).

In Column 3, I include RAXEN's index of official discrimination data mechanisms (RAXEN 2004). Again, Britain and France are tied for the highest ranking of inclusion, followed by Germany then Spain for the lowest ranking of inclusion. These rankings of inclusion are consistent with Koopman and Statham's comparative conceptualization of citizenship. Great Britain is consistently the most inclusive, followed by France at moderate to high inclusion, while Germany and Spain are consistently least inclusive. I compare these multicultural policy rankings to cultural attitudes toward Muslims shown in Table 4.

Table 4. European Attitudes Toward Muslims (Pew 2006)

Ranking	Unfavorable Opinion of Muslims		Ranking	Many Europeans are Hostile Toward Muslims	
1	Great Britain	23.7%	1	Great Britain	38.1%
2	France	35.3%	2	France	56.4%
3	Germany	56.9%	3	Germany	61.0%
4	Spain	67.1%	4	Spain	62.8%

In the Pew 2006 Global Attitudes Survey, non-Muslim Europeans responded to the questions, "In your opinion, how many Europeans do you think are hostile toward Muslims?" (recoded into 1=Many and 0=Few) and, "Do you have a favorable opinion of Muslims?" (recoded into 1=Unfavorable and 0=Favorable). Non-Muslim British respondents exhibit the lowest perception of Muslim exclusion at 38 percent, with 23 percent reporting unfavorable attitudes toward Muslims. Following Great Britain, France exhibits the second lowest perception of exclusion with 56 percent of non-Muslim French respondents perceiving hostility toward Muslims and 35 percent finding Muslims unfavorable. Germany exhibits a higher perception of Muslim exclusion with 61 percent perceiving hostility toward Muslims and 57 percent reporting unfavorable opinions of Muslims, and Spain exhibits the greatest national perception of exclusion and unfavorability toward Muslims. These results parallel the multicultural policy rankings in Table 3, as cultural attitudes in Great Britain reflect the highest level of multicultural inclusion followed by France, and cultural attitudes in Germany followed by Spain reflect the lowest levels of inclusion.

From the evidence provided by these rankings and three theoretical approaches to perceptions of exclusion, Muslims' perceptions of societal exclusion will reflect a combination of national multicultural policies and attitudes expressed by their neighbors. We would expect perceptions of exclusion to be highest in Spain and Germany where multiculturalism is low and hostility toward Muslims high. Perceptions of exclusion would be lowest in Great Britain and France where multiculturalism is high and hostility toward Muslims low. However, one caveat must be made regarding the expression of cultural attitudes. In countries with a greater degree of multiculturalism such as Great Britain, social desirability produced within the boundaries of multicultural ideology limits the overt expression of negative views toward members of minority

groups. As a result, it is possible that hostility toward Muslims is as high in multicultural countries as it is in less multicultural countries. Despite this possibility, the puzzle still remains as to why Muslims in more multicultural countries perceive greater exclusion than Muslims in less multicultural countries.

Individual-Level Explanation

The individual level theory proposes that perceptions of exclusion are a product of individual experiences of discrimination. The Pew survey allows us to test this directly, and we find that this relationship in this hypothesis is not consistently confirmed. To explore this puzzle, I first test an individual-level theory of discrimination by comparing individual experiences of discrimination to perceptions of societal exclusion. Are Muslims who personally experienced discrimination more likely to perceive societal exclusion? Table 5 shows that the social psychological hypothesis of the relationship between individual experience of discrimination and perceptions of exclusion against the group does not hold equally across countries.

Table 5. Relationship between Personal Experience of Discrimination and Perception of Hostility

	Personally Experienced Discrimination	
	No	Yes
Great Britain	44.3%	49.0%
France	35.8%	44.7%
Germany	53.4%	52.5%
Spain	26.3%	51.3%

This theory is confirmed in Spain. In Spain, however, Muslims who personally experience discrimination are more likely to perceive societal exclusion. These results are most stark in Spain where of Spanish Muslims who personally experienced discrimination, 51 percent perceive societal exclusion, while of those who have not experienced discrimination, only 26 percent perceive societal exclusion. In fact, perceptions of exclusion are comparable among Muslims who have and have not personally experienced discrimination in Britain, France, and Germany. Of German Muslims who both have and have not personally experienced discrimination, 53 percent perceive societal exclusion. Of German Muslims who have not personally experienced discrimination, 53 percent perceive societal exclusion. In Britain and France there is a difference of 5 to 10 percent. These results do not overturn the social psychological hypothesis. There is evidence to suggest that a personal experience of discrimination matters for perceptions of societal exclusion. However, because this mechanism does not have the same effect across countries, there is more to the puzzle.

Cultural Consciousness Hypothesis

Disaggregating these results further by nativity, a few patterns begin to take shape. The native-born report the experience of discrimination more frequently in every country except Spain, likely attributable to the small representation of native-born Spanish Muslims in the sample. As greater acculturation increases the likelihood of interaction with and awareness of the majority population, this finding is not surprising. In a comparison of means test, the native-born are also significantly more likely to perceive exclusion ($p<0.001$). This shows support for a theory of cultural consciousness. Nativity reflects greater cultural awareness and incorporation. When the cultural awareness produces expectations of multiculturalism and inclusion,

perceptions of exclusion are greater. In Table 6, I test this hypothesis further by comparing the effects of incorporation on perceptions of hostility for immigrants who arrived in the last 15 years, immigrants who arrived more than 15 years ago, the native-born, and those with an above median income, as a measure of structural incorporation.

Table 6. Comparing Muslims' Perception of Hostility by Time in the Host Country

	Muslim Perception of Hostility			
Country	**Immigrant: Less than 15 years**	**Immigrant: More than 15 years**	**Native-Born Muslims**	**Above Median Income**
Great Britain	37.4%	39.0%	51.9%	47.3%
France	26.6%	33.6%	47.7%	35.5%
Germany	55.7%	55.3%	50.5%	65.6%
Spain	31.5%	28.6%	31.4%	42.9%

In Great Britain and France, the native-born are more likely than immigrants to perceive societal exclusion, following the cultural consciousness hypothesis. However, in Germany and Spain, the native-born are less likely than immigrants to perceive societal exclusion. Notable gaps between individual experience of discrimination and perceptions of discrimination against the group show that perceptions of societal exclusion cannot be explained at the individual-level without considering the cultural contexts that shape acculturative processes.

Citizenship Regimes

To consider this reversal, I return to the question of cultural content, considering how attitudes toward Muslims compare to Muslims' perceptions of those attitudes. Table 7 compares

Muslims' perceptions of hostility by nativity to non-Muslim Europeans' unfavorability toward Muslims.

Table 7. Comparing Muslims' Perception of Hostility by Nativity Against Societal Perceptions of Hostility Against Muslims

Muslim Perception of Hostility				Non-Muslim Unfavorability toward Muslims	
Country	**Immigrant**	**Native-Born**		**Country**	**Non-Muslims**
Britain	39.8%	51.9%		Britain	23.7%
France	30.6%	47.7%		France	35.3%
Germany	54.2%	50.5%		Germany	56.9%
Spain	32.2%	31.4%		Spain	67.1%

In Britain, Muslim immigrants and native-born Muslims perceive almost twice the hostility expressed in British attitudes toward Muslims. Similarly, in France, native-born Muslims perceive more hostility than non-Muslim French report. However, in Germany and Spain, Muslims perceive less hostility than non-Muslims report. In Spain, this perception of hostility is half of that which is expressed by non-Muslims. These findings show a profound pattern in which: (1) there is a marked disjuncture between Muslims' and non-Muslims' perceptions of societal inclusion (2) there is a consistent likelihood that Muslims in more multicultural countries will perceive greater exclusion relative to levels of cultural inclusion than Muslims in less multicultural countries. In other words, while base frequencies do not appear to reveal patterns in Muslims' perceptions of exclusion across countries, when these perceptions are contextualized and examined relative to their cultural content, a distinct pattern emerges. Furthermore, nativity emerges as a useful proxy for cultural awareness. It is essential, then, to consider the integrative process in expressing the conditions under which perceptions of inclusion and exclusion are formed.

To test these effects, I conduct a logit test including individual and group-level determinants of perceptions of exclusion, shown in Table 8.

Table 8. Full Logit Model of Muslims' Perceptions of Hostility

	Great Britain	France	Germany	Spain
Experienced Discrimination	0.2	0.4*	-0.2	1.2***
	0.3	0.2	0.3	0.3
Female	0.3	0.4*	0.2	0.2
	0.3	0.2	0.3	0.4
Above Median Income	0.1	-0.2	0.3	0.7
	0.3	0.3	0.5	0.8
Native-Born	0.5**	0.7***	-0.3	0.1
	0.3	0.2	0.3	0.5
Constant	-0.9**	-1.6***	0.1	-1.5***
	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.5
Observations	294	379	311	243

The individual experience of discrimination only significantly predicts perceptions of discrimination in Spain. Because Spain is a new country of immigration, it is possible that the lack of historical clarity around cultural divisions between groups results in a more robust effect of individual experience of discrimination upon perceptions of exclusion. More centrally, the weakness of this model suggests that perceptions of societal exclusion cannot be explained solely by individual experiences and interactions.

Group-level measures of the integration process are tested through gender, income, and nativity. In France, gender is a robust predictor of perceptions of exclusion as French Muslim women perceive greater hostility than Muslim men. This result might be explained by the French anti-veiling policies that directly identified Muslim women as subjects of public concern. Again,

this suggests that national policy and discourse shape the context in which perceptions of exclusion are formed. Meanwhile, income, as a measure of structural incorporation, has no effect on perceptions of exclusion. However, as suggested through means tests, nativity positively predicts perceptions of exclusion in Great Britain and France, countries with a higher degree of multiculturalism. This finding suggests that nativity has a robust effect on perceptions of society, however this effect is patterned by the national context.

As native-born Muslims are born and socialized into the host culture, their nativity reflects an intimate understanding and expectation of the integration process. The inclusionary or exclusionary nature of the national context that shapes this integration process matters for the ways in which expectations of inclusion are formed. In multicultural Great Britain, greater expectations of inclusion facilitate a cognitive context in which perceptions of exclusion will arise when these expectations are not met. While Muslims in Germany may experience similar conditions of exclusion, the national context of low multiculturalism does not produce the same expectations of inclusion. As a result, the same conditions of exclusion are not perceived and cognitively produced in the same way. In multicultural countries, the disjuncture between expectation and perceived reality creates a gap between the perceptions of the native-born and perceptions of immigrants. However, native-born Muslims' awareness of exclusionary contexts in countries like Germany provides a conceptual referent such that perceptions of hostility are not readily interpreted as discrimination toward Muslims, so much as culturally normative divisions between groups.

By testing individual and group-level determinants of perceptions of exclusion, it becomes evident that perceptions are not predicted by individual-level interactions, but rather the relationship between group-level integration and acculturation processes and the macro-level

forces that shape them. I hypothesized that the effect of these determinants would be patterned by national contexts, meaning degrees of multiculturalism that enable expectations of inclusion. For native-born Muslims with greater cultural awareness, these effects will be stronger.

Conclusions

This article tested an integrated theory of perceptions of exclusion considering the ways in which national contexts of multiculturalism pattern individual-level perceptions. Through a comparison of Great Britain, France, Germany, and Spain, I showed how cross-national variation in perceptions of exclusion could not be explained by individual experiences of discrimination alone, but rather corresponded to the expectations of inclusion enabled through multicultural policy. Results showed that native-born Muslims perceived greater discrimination than immigrant Muslims in multicultural countries, highlighting the significance of nativity in perceptions of the integrative process.

There are a number of limitations to this study. First, these surveys provide a snapshot of perceptions in 2006. A longitudinal comparison of perceptions over time in comparison to evolving public discourses surrounding Muslims might provide greater insight into the mechanisms through which perceptions position themselves in relation to macro-level contexts. Second, this article harnessed large samples to develop an integrated theory of discrimination. Should additional surveys of Muslims be made available, multi-level models might further explore the interactive relationship between majority-group attitudes and out-group perceptions. Furthermore, in-depth interviews would provide qualitative texture to a conceptualization of perceptions, groups, and policies.

Despite limitations, there are a number of implications in these findings. First, while cross-national variation in macro-level policies has been well documented, the cultural meanings implicit in these policies suggest that the ways in which marginalized groups relate to these rigid or flexible limitations are as significant as the policies themselves. Further studies might explore the frames and discourses expressed through multiculturalism and the multivalence of narratives and constellations of meaning across cultures (Edgell and Tranby 2010). Do certain discourses, frames, and meaning structures harness particular predictive power for perceptions of exclusion? A longitudinal approach might consider how discourse evolves over time, reflecting the influence of the EU and liberal democracy, in contrast to public discourses that reify boundaries between groups.

Similarly, the identification of a disjuncture between Muslims' perceptions of discrimination and Europeans' perceptions of hostility against Muslims raises questions about multiculturalism's constraints around expression and contestation. How does multiculturalism provide limitations not only on conceptual understandings of who does and does not belong, but also on the ways in which these distinctions are discursively available Do counter-frames and discourses make distinctions between groups inexpressible, for example a growing ideology of multicultural colorblindness that makes difficult the identification of discrimination? Similarly, how do marginalized communities contest these boundaries, symbolically and politically? Furthermore, the notable divergence in the perceptions of the native-born and immigrants opens a field of inquiry that might bridge segmented assimilation theory with cultural sociology to explore the ways in which the native-born draw upon a broader cultural repertoire and are rather less constrained than immigrants in their formation and expression of perceptions of discrimination.

Finally, this analysis suggests that multiculturalism, as ideology, policy practice, and cultural narrative, deserves greater scholarly attention. While touted as an ideology of pluralism and cultural tolerance, findings suggest that it is insufficient to look simply at the flexibility of policies and legal sanctions of the state. Rather, perceptions of exclusion reveal the effect of cultural products *in between*, those understood by publics as conceptual divisions between insiders and outsiders. While multiculturalism is broadly understood as an integrative policy, celebrating cultural difference and sanctioning a pluralistic cultural landscape, this article has shown that the complexities of multiculturalism in practice must be interrogated. Left open-ended, multiculturalism can provoke discrimination, drawing more salient the boundaries between "us" and "them" (Guibernau and Rex 2010). Given ongoing debates surrounding immigration and the boundaries of citizenship, it becomes increasingly important to conceptualize the mechanisms through which perceptions of belonging and exclusion are constructed.

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